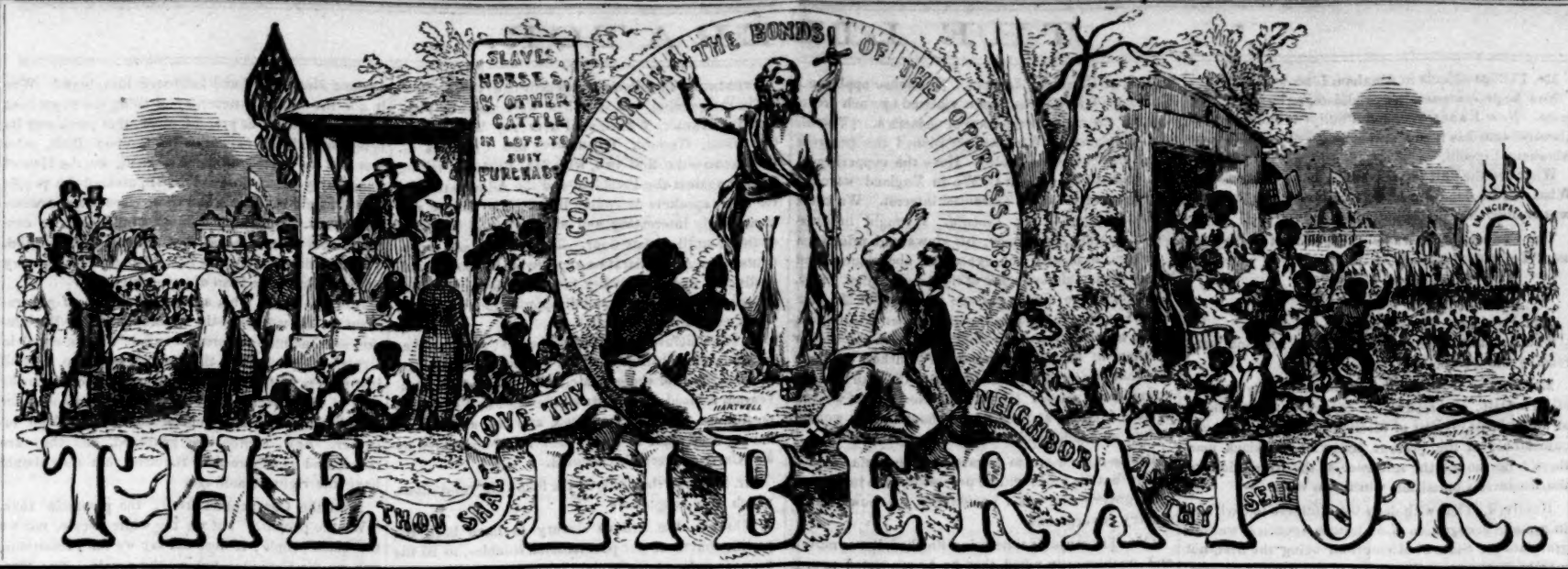


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The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, who are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz: WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDWARD QUINCY, EDWARD JACKSON, and WILLIAM L. GARRISON, Jr.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."
"I lay this down as the law of nations. Every military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the State where slavery exists has the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the Congress or the Army, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES." From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, in EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the commission of slaves, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory.—J. Q. ADAMS.

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The Liberator.

MRS. E. C. STANTON TO MRS. DALL.

NEW YORK, May 7, 1864.
MY DEAR FRIEND—I regret that any misapprehension, on your part, of the nature and purpose of the "Woman's National League," should have caused you the confusion and inconvenience of a cancelled purpose to visit my man of straw, alone vulnerable to your attack.
The League was legitimately open for public reply; but the League is in no way responsible for my private letters. Your paradoxical letter of inquiry, thrown together without logic or arrangement, I have pondered as I would a Chinese puzzle; and after adjusting and readjusting to conflicting assertions, the following propositions are discernible:—
1st. You deny woman's political rights; she may "interest herself in national questions," but she may not "dictate."
2d. Her sphere is moral; she may not descend into vulgar politics.
3d. She is ignorant of the science of government—wholly incompetent to judge of the political fitness of a third man for the Presidency, while, with the accuracy of a thermometer, she measures a man's moral altitude the moment he enters her presence.
4th. She must not enter the political arena until "induced," an unauthorized interference never produces any result.
5th. Our Presidents are made by the direct fiat of Heaven; not like Moses, to lead the people, but like the golden calf of the Israelites, to be adored and loved on our shoulders, wherever the popular tide runs.
6th. You say Mr. Garrison's stand-point for the last thirty years has not been the best one for sound political judgment of men and measures.
Now, on all these points I take issue with you, and gladly embrace this opportunity to reassert rights I have supposed settled, long ago, in all advance minds.
1. I believe the best interests of the nation demand the united, equal power and influence of man and woman, in politics, religion and social life; and woman will never "interest" herself in national questions until she feels she has a right to be heard. Experience and reason alike prove that the right to dictate, in all the practical affairs of life, belongs not to men only who are crowned with the glory of manhood.
2. For the moral position of the "Woman's National League," I refer you to our report and resolutions, in which you will find that we, so far from desecrating an electioneering caucus or political cabal, by the enunciation of principles, have lifted politics into the sphere of morals and religion. Our League, formed one year ago, pledging its members to freedom, with the avowed object of educating the nation into the idea of a true republic, is the first and only organization of women for the declared purpose of influencing politics. In petitioning Congress for an act of emancipation, we began with the A. C. of human rights, and have thus made ourselves a power for freedom with the people and their representatives.
We differ from you in that, as we near the point of reconstruction, we see "reason for renewed effort in the coming Presidential campaign." However difficult you may have been in the past, we, with the men of Northern wisdom, must mourn our want of "lightness" must plead guilty to the charge, that we do not regard the tree of liberty with the care and ardor which they of the South have shown for their "peculiar institution." Because a careful household, is constantly guarded against fire and sparks and kindling, is certainly no reason why she should "not" a special revulsion, when her house is in flames.
3. The great difficulties in the exercise of civil power, "not yet surmounted by man even after years of experience," should, you say, "make woman pause before assuming responsibilities God has not trusted to her." To my mind these difficulties are not traces to the intricacy of the problem of government, for justice is a simple thing, but to the blindness of man in not seeing that freedom and equality are the cornerstones of all just and stable governments. Perseus, with woman's help, he might more easily have unravelled the tangled skein that has so sorely perplexed his ignorance and alone.
As to woman's ignorance of the science of government, we Americans are proverbial for our knowledge of politics and its machinery. When the old John Adams rebuked him for the fatal commission with slavery made in the Constitutional Convention, did he not show the higher statesmanship? In the raising campaign of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," who so firmly and eloquently kept up the standard of freedom—who so thoroughly understood the numerous issues of that hour, as did Abby Kelley Foster—a name I ever keep with reverence.
I have not women for the last twenty years taught our legislators higher laws of justice, and compelled them to clean their boots of many barbarous statutes? What man more than Anna Dickinson to save the election in Connecticut and Pennsylvania? The last word yet spoken on the vexed question of re-education by a Connecticut woman, in the Independent of May 5.
In honoring woman to modest silence, then, commanding her to assign her rulers before the judgment seat of the people by "moral rebukes," "the stern moral who leads her son," your logic is like that of a stork who learned to swim; "never go near the water," commanded by the rule men in "Tutus Amfionicus," "pull out the tongue and cut off the hands of the man who dares," then bade her "go call for water, and wash her hands."
In judging of our public men, I am at a loss to know what plan you would use to find their moral altitude. You praise President Lincoln, who holds his place in human beings in slavery, with his whole life of sacrifice to free black citizens, and who has the name of Gen. Butler, whose policy is freedom—the recognition of the manhood of the slave.

REMEMBER, IN THE BLACK MAN WE ARE SETTLING THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF MORALS AND GOVERNMENT.

It is not a question merely of what shall we do with four millions of Africans, but what are the rights of man. President Lincoln's proclamation is a dead letter, unless backed up by the immortal declaration, "All men are created equal," and our revolution to no purpose, unless in the reconstruction we realize that sublime utterance of the Fathers.
4. What progress should we have made in government if men had always waited for an invitation to take their rights and privileges? Would there have been a House of Commons in the English Parliament if the people had waited for the Lords to inaugurate the movement? Would our revolutionary Fathers ever have founded a republic, and repudiated the monarch and his throne, had they waited for the permission of George III.? Did Massachusetts or New York propose to give their women their rights of property, children and wages, before we ourselves made the demand? "No, no, an aristocracy never seeks to share its privileges."
5. "If, through the uncertainties of politicians and the quarrels of demagogues, God led Abraham Lincoln to the executive chair" to clog the wheels of civilization, a dead weight on the people for education at the very moment they needed a pillar of light to go before them in the wilderness, who should say that Pierce and Buchanan were not given for the same purpose, and thus involve God in the absurdity of changing his politics once in four years, and dividing the heavenly hosts into Republicans and Democrats? To my mind, thus to bring God and the angels down to the "muddy pool of politics" would be far worse than for the daughters of the Pilgrims, "unauthorized," even to share all the dangers and difficulties of this earthly sphere.
The day has passed for making Providence the scape-goat for all our ignorance and folly. Our duty is to study the immutable principles of right, and bring ourselves and the nation into tune with them. We do not propose to leave the next Presidency to chance, or guess, or wire-pullers, under the very shadow of executive patronage, but that the people, in mass convention, shall decide, for themselves, whom they will have in the man already tried. We do not want "an unknown man, pledged to nobody and nothing." Neither do we want one pledged to slavery, as President Lincoln has ever been. Had I been asked who should be President in '64, I should have said, William H. Seward. Gen. Fremont was not thought of in that campaign, though a candidate in '56. The emergencies of the war have placed Generals Butler and Fremont before the nation, admired for their military genius, their statesmanship, their executive ability, and their broad views of human rights. If Gen. Butler should be chosen for our next President, your position would be a very painful one; for four long years you would not be able to write or speak the name of the executive of the nation; but under such Providence, perhaps you might "patiently learn the lesson" of the one term principle.
6. They who, outside the excitement and competition of a game, calmly watch the moves and chances, often see the results more clearly than those who play. In the conventions of politicians, in the speeches of acknowledged statesmen, either in our day or the past, where do you find deeper, broader, higher principles of policy and government than have been uniformly enunciated in our Anti-Slavery conventions? For the last thirty years, they have been the nation's school, where new measures have been candidly and severely criticised, and where our most liberal Christians, clearest logicians, earnest orators, and wisest statesmen, have taken their best lessons for the practical work of life. Who can say that Wendell Phillips, the advance man of this hour, would not be a safer pilot at the helm of government than Thurlow Weed, the American Talleyrand, and skilled as he is in all the arts of diplomacy and management?

Yours, sincerely,
E. C. STANTON.

SLAVERY NOT YET DEAD.

APRIL 16, 1864.

MR. GARRISON:
SIR:—At the time of the Decade meeting, much was said about slavery being dead, and therefore the Anti-Slavery Societies might disband, &c. It struck me then that slavery, though partially dead practically, was far, far from being dead morally. With the clang of the Copperhead press, and speeches, in and out of Congress—the slurring of George Thompson, &c. Many are opposed to slavery because it is the cause of the war, and threatens to divide the Union, and for other like causes; not because it is a high-handed sin against God and humanity. And it appears to me there is yet a great work for Abolitionists to do, so as not to have it to do over again. The churches are not yet half awake. Surely, the moral aspects of the cause belong to them to present and enforce, while the politicians are pressing its political aspects. One and all should be up and doing, while "the people have a mind to work," and while they can work.
May 20.—You will see, by the date, that the above was written some little time ago. On reading the speeches at the meetings in New York, both of the Anti-Slavery Society, and also those of the Congressional Union, I felt stirred to say one word more.
It was observed by one speaker that the Lord was educating the people by this terrible war up to anti-slavery truths, or to that effect. And what an education we need, in order to have peace, and the Union as it should be; not as it was! Oh, no!
To-day is the meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention. Ah, how it would rejoice my heart to be with you, and hear the speeches.
If you can make any good use of these lines, well; if not, well.
A FRIEND TO THE CAUSE.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The New England Anti-Slavery Convention assembled on Thursday morning, May 26th, in the Melancon, the smaller hall of the Tremont Temple, which was filled at the time of opening the meeting, in spite of the customary easterly storm.
The meeting was called to order by Samuel May, Jr. On motion of Mr. Draper, of Milford, a committee of five was appointed by the chair, to report a list of officers for the Convention, as follows:
E. D. Draper, of Milford; Benj. Snow, Jr., of Fitchburg; Joseph Merrill, of Danvers; Parker Pillsbury, of Concord; Elbridge Sprague, of Abington.
Mr. May expressed his regret at the very limited space of the hall; the largest, however, that could be obtained for to-day's meeting.
The Committee on Nominations reported the following as the organization of the Convention:—
For President:
EDMUND QUINCY, of Massachusetts.
Vice Presidents:
BOURNE SPOONER, Plymouth, Mass.;
JOHN T. SARGENT, Boston,
MRS. ANNA T. DRAPER, Milford,
ASA FAIRBANKS, Rhode Island;
CLARK GREENMAN, Connecticut;
JAMES HUTCHINSON, Jr., Vermont;
JEREMIAH CLAPLIN, New Hampshire.
Secretaries:
CHARLES K. WHIFFLE, Boston, Mass.;
AARON M. POWELL, Ghent, N. Y.
Finance Committee:
Elbridge Sprague, Eben D. Draper,
Joseph Merrill, Joshua T. Everett.

This list of officers was chosen by the Convention, and Mr. Quincy took the chair.
SAMUEL MAY, JR., made a few introductory remarks, respecting the Anti-Slavery associations which unite in this Convention, and the agencies employed in their work, and urging an active continuance in the labors appropriate to the cause.
In concluding his statement, Mr. May said, in former years there was only one New England Anti-Slavery Convention held here during anniversary week. That, I need not say, was the Convention of the old Abolitionists. All the other great meetings of the week, of all the various sects, orthodox or heretic, alike disapproved this great cause of justice, humanity, and freedom,—passing it by in haughty silence and indifference, or, at the best, charging it with infidelity and treason against it. But now, sir, we are only one of several New England Anti-Slavery Conventions held in this city this week. Nearly every meeting of any considerable numbers of interest, held this week, rejoices to declare itself in favor of the oppressed slave, and of his immediate emancipation. Do we regret this, sir? Shall we be sorry when, as Abolitionists, our "occupation is gone," altogether? No, indeed! But we shall most fervently rejoice, and give thanks to Him, who, in this great and holy work, ever has been with us, as our Captain. Meantime, let us view these meetings of to-day and to-morrow as only the closing ones of one long New England Anti-Slavery Convention, extending through the week, and be thereby refreshed for further service, until slavery is entirely dead and buried.
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON wished to speak very briefly. He had feared that, in such unpropitious weather, the meeting would be thin this morning. The numbers assembled show how active, and vital, and increasing is the interest felt in the cause here represented. Mr. Garrison proposed that, in view of the numbers probably desirous to speak, the time of speaking be reduced to ten minutes, and that the time of speaking be reduced to ten minutes, and that the time of speaking be reduced to ten minutes.

Yours, sincerely,
E. C. STANTON.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

should not end till the black is the political equal of the white. What then is our present duty? We began with the purpose to secure immediate, unconditional abolition. Everything opposed to it must be removed, be it church, party, or government. We found the church against the slave, and we were compelled to leave the church. We found the government false to the slave, and had to separate ourselves from it. We have, for twenty years, warned our fellow-countrymen to vote for no one not unqualifiedly committed to the principles of immediate emancipation and full justice. We were asked by Mr. Sumner and other good men to vote for the best of two parties, but we could not vote for the least of two compromisers. Did we not teach correctly? If not, we should acknowledge our error; if we did, we should adhere. He believed the first duty to push the present administration to a higher level—next, to prepare to have it succeeded by a better. He was opposed to re-instating Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln confessedly has no sympathy with our cause. He has freed no slave save by necessity. Mr. F. commented on the Hodge's letter. Mr. Lincoln had returned ten slaves where any of his predecessors—Van Buren or Buchanan—had returned one.
Mr. May made some remarks on the advantage and necessity of a limited rule for speakers; and of the fact, that Mr. Foster himself had proposed and advocated such a recent occasion.
MR. PILLSBURY made objections to the limitation, and protested against favoritism in the allowance of speakers.
MR. GARRISON vindicated the rule as expedient for the day-session. He did not rise to reply to Mr. Foster's speech, but was moved to speak of the immense contrast (brought to his mind by the appearance of his venerable friend, Rev. Mr. Thurston) between the prevalent sentiments existing in 1833, when he first met him in the Anti-Slavery Convention in Philadelphia, and at the present moment. He declared himself now, as heretofore, a man of peace, a non-resistor. In spite of the war, we have never had so much of peace in this country as now; never so much wealth; never so much unity; never so little national debt; because we have never had so little slavery.
Slavery knew that its fate was sealed when Abraham Lincoln was chosen. Every rebel detests him. Every pro-slavery man reviles him. There is then no doubt in my mind where my sympathies shall go in this matter. As to the President doing nothing for the negro as the negro, I submit that he must be judged by the circumstances and necessities of his position. He is chosen according to the Constitution, and under the limits of the Constitution. This context does mean—Liberty on one hand and Slavery on the other, and we should recognize that fact, without demanding too much of the individual combatants or leaders.
C. C. BURLEIGH agreed that the nation was never so little in debt. Its great debt was to the bondman. It has begun to discharge that debt. Until recently, the debt has accumulated with the hope of repudiation; but repudiation only adds damages to interest. He agreed with a previous speaker that more fugitives have been returned, under the administration of Mr. Lincoln, than under any previous one; the opportunity and occasion have been greater. He had been ready to do all for slavery that the usual interpretation of the Constitution required. He issued the Proclamation of Emancipation, and sent a provisional Governor to Tennessee, and thereby confessed the old Constitution to be abrogated. He had not done his duty. He (Mr. B.) did not want, in an emergency like the present, a pilot who would, to use his own word, allow the ship of State to "drift." He was honest, but only as politicians are honest. He may be most valuable; I leave that for politicians to determine; if he is true, I am sorry it is so.

MRS. ABY KELLEY FOSTER said—We hear about Abraham Lincoln's going to the extent of his Constitutional obligations to put down slavery. But it may fairly be asked—Has he gone to the extent of his Constitutional obligations to put down the rebellion? Seeing clearly that interference with slavery was the strongest instrument to oppose to the rebellion, he has used as little of that agency as possible. He preferred to shed the blood of loyal white men, rather than to free the slaves of the Border States. Let us never talk, on the Anti-Slavery platform, of the duty of judging men by their position, rather than by the claims of principle and righteousness.
HENRY C. WRIGHT read passages of Abraham Lincoln's writings in his defence against charges that have been made against him. Several of the expressions read called forth applause from the audience.
He also read an extract of the proclamation of Jan. 1, 1863, declaring free the slaves in the rebel States, and promising the protection of the government to them.
Judge him, said Mr. W., by his words and acts; criticize as you deem necessary; remember he was bound to go by his own judgment, not Mr. Garrison's, or Mr. Phillips's, or Mr. Foster's, or mine. He could not, as President, emancipate a single slave on the ground of justice. He was elected to preserve the nation, not primarily to abolish slavery; and he must respect the oath he had taken.
WENDELL PHILLIPS said he had a resolution to read, as follows:
Resolved, That we have read with unfeigned surprise in the editorial columns of the *Anti-Slavery Standard* of May 21st the following:—"We presume that almost all of those who have for the last twenty years stood out from political action will feel that they can use it at this juncture without covenanting with Death and agreeing with Hell!" and remembering that no member of the American Society has, as such, ever abstained from any kind of political action except voting, and that only because of the pro-slavery character of the United States Constitution, we are utterly ignorant how that Constitution remaining to this day unchanged, any member who has for that reason abstained from voting can consistently do so.
He then proceeded to say—
I wish now to take as a text for a moment the opening sentence of the letter of Abraham Lincoln read by Mr. Wright.
He says he never knew what it was not to think slavery wrong. Yet, as a member of Congress, he added a pro-slavery clause to the bill offered by Mason of Virginia, for the rendition of fugitive slaves. I make these two points—

THIS ANTI-SLAVERY BELIEF HAS BEEN CONSISTENT WITH HIS VOLUNTARY SERVICE OF SLAVERY, WHENEVER IT WAS BROUGHT INTO PERIL.

He touched slavery only when it was indispensably necessary, and when he had exhausted every other possible method.
These are exactly the reasons why I oppose his reelection.
The rebellion broke out in 1861. Military necessity authorized him, from the moment he saw it would be an efficient weapon in the war, to attack slavery. The rebellion might perhaps be subdued, without touching Richmond; without infringing on the liberty of the press; without interfering with commerce. He assails all those points and many others, as soon as he sees the advantage of it. But he touches slavery only when everything else has failed. In thirty days, he crushes *habeas corpus*. He imprisons individuals. He suppresses newspapers.
But he touches slavery only after trying every other possible resource. It was obvious that an assault on slavery was the readiest, the most thorough, the most deadly weapon against slavery. Slavery had heretofore been only a tolerated nuisance. Lincoln has regarded and treated it as sacred.
Congress passed a law that negroes shall be employed as soldiers. Obviously, since the contrary is not expressed, the negro is to be treated like other soldiers. Lincoln does not see it. Only after nine months' delay, involving great suffering to the families of those soldiers, does he ask the Attorney General's opinion of the meaning of that statute. Why did he not ask it before?
He refuses the suffrage to the colored men of Louisiana when Bernanos asks it. Why did he refuse? It would offend Gov. Beauregard. It would injure the Kentucky interest.
MR. GARRISON said he could best refute Mr. Phillips's speech by quoting his own eulogistic words of Mr. Lincoln. How can he reconcile these? Mr. Garrison proceeded to read and comment upon a recent speech of Mr. Phillips.
We ought to remember the condition of the country when Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated. The large Democratic minority threatened, and manifold dangers beset him on every hand. He has been in the midst of great opposition, as if upon a volcano. If any man ever deserved sympathy, it is Mr. Lincoln. I think that Mr. Lincoln ought not, in his Proclamation, to have exempted slavery anywhere; but he went as far as he thought the Constitution would justify him in going. Now, all of slavery should be included. I have signed petitions for the abolition of all slavery, for there is now the Constitutional power to do it. The covenant with slavery is annulled. I am not here to justify all Mr. Lincoln's acts; far from it. I could criticise him freely; I have done so. But now is not the time for the usual Presidential electioneering. One who has given us a series of anti-slavery measures as Mr. Lincoln has, is, on the whole, well deserving to continue in office for another term.

WENDELL PHILLIPS said—Mr. Garrison acknowledges that Abraham Lincoln is not clear-sighted. (MR. GARRISON—I meant, not as clear-sighted as I am.) (Laughter.) But he must see with his own eyes. That is my objection to him. The American nation, never stood in such peril as it does to-day. Mr. Lincoln is honest as I have said, Kentucky honest; but we need a man who both means well and sees well. I said to the President, a year ago—"The man who will create the Proclamation should be our next President. For want of clear insight or good meaning, the policy of that document has not been thoroughly carried out. But this is the very point most vital to our success.
The President wants abolition, in a certain sense, but he is not willing to use the means for it.
Why does he keep Blair in the possession of such power and patronage, all given to the support of slavery?
Three years of the Administration have given us the means of judging it. The President told me that Banks was a failure. Now, sixteen months after, he still remains.
The President steadily refrains from doing anti-slavery work; and the reason is, because he doesn't want it done.
Mr. Lincoln is honest, after a certain sort. But in his later career, Thurlow Weed has shaken in his eyes the glittering tangle of the next Presidency. He looks to the conservative part of the nation for his election. He interferes with slavery, even now, just as little as he possibly can.
The letter which Mr. Wright has read is one of the most mournful ever written. It says to the negro, you owe me no gratitude. I have done nothing intending your interest. I have acted only on military necessity. The only sound basis for the reconstruction of this nation is black citizenship. Mr. Lincoln resists and opposes it. To do this work, I want a Butler and a Fremont.
I will be bolder than Mr. Garrison. In this hour we ought to and we may prejudice the future.
MR. LANCET said he had fought for \$11 per month, having been with the First Massachusetts regiment from the beginning of the war. Would Mr. Phillips do as much? He spoke in defence of Mr. Lincoln, who he didn't vote for. Mr. Lincoln, having been doubtful of him on anti-slavery grounds, but confident fully in him now. As was said in Tremont Temple, the other evening, by a young chaplain of the Christian Commission, when Boston's peerless orator goes down upon his knees to ask counsel of God, as President Lincoln habitually does, then may the former properly criticise the latter.
S. MAY, JR. said that, since that remark of Mr. Duryea had been repeated in this Convention, he desired to say, for himself, that he regarded it as a piece of impudent cant. It was a piece with the talk, which we had so long been accustomed to hear of all the pro-slavery and slave-hunting Presidents, whose praying, Bible-reading and Sabbath-keeping habits had always been cantingly paraded, as an offset for their acts of servility to slavery. And what right had Mr. Duryea to tell his audience, as he virtually did, that Mr. Phillips lived and labored without God in his great work? If their lives a man whose whole life should teach even the narrowest bigot a better lesson than that, that man is Mr. Phillips.
Adjourned to quarter before 2.

AFTERNOON. MR. SARGENT, one of the Vice Presidents, called the meeting to order, and introduced to the audience

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN. Mr. Brown hoped the interest manifested in Presidential candidates would not prevent continued action for our peculiar work, the abolition of slavery. The old work of bringing the right and wrong of slavery before the hearts and consciences of men needs to be done now as much as ever. He was pleased with the remarks of Mrs. Dall in the morning. The blacks ask only their liberty, and the opportunity of acting and working for themselves. This was all that he and his brethren asked of the people of this nation. He spoke of the much that remains to be done in the Southern country, where the blacks have nothing more than the little that the Proclamation has done for them; their chains have been removed, it is true, but there is no recognition of their rights, and no fair chance for them to gain their own subsistence. Wherever such is given them, they will be able to take care of themselves. And the part of this Society is to plead their cause until they gain this opportunity.
We have heard much debate respecting Mr. Lincoln. I enter but little into it. The colored people of the country rejoice in what Mr. Lincoln has done for them, but they all wish that Gen. Fremont had been in his place. And Gen. Butler (having larger opportunity) has done far more than Fremont. He treated black men just as he treated other men, and that is what black men want. They want justice. And those who are disposed to do justice to all are the best persons to manage the present affairs of this country.
PARKER PILLSBURY introduced the following resolutions:
[By some mistake of the Secretaries, the resolutions of Mr. Pillsbury have not been handed to us, and, therefore, we are unable to print them in this connection.]—Ed. Lib.
Rev. MR. CALTHROP, of England, had taken deep interest in the debate of the morning. As a comparison of views, it was good. If a prelude to a division of the Anti-Slavery forces of the country, he must say, God forbid! We know the friendship between Wendell Phillips and Mr. Garrison will not be broken; may the anti-slavery movement not be broken by them! The people now are inquiring of the great anti-slavery idea. We should be ready to suggest practical measures, that the inquiring nation may be saved. He thought that two errors had been committed by Abolitionists at the outset. The first, that they had too much committed themselves to non-resistance. All begin to see that some wars are righteous methods in God's Providence. John Brown opened many eyes. He would encourage every man to go and strike a blow against oppression by the bayonet. The second error was uniting abolition and disunion.
Acknowledgment of these errors should be made. Let us see to it that there be no scattering policy among the friends of freedom. Let them speak freely, but not separate; like the noble Gen. Rice, when dying, let us have our face turned to the enemy.
The Finance Committee were instructed to take collections of contributions for the expenses of the Convention.

Rev. SAMUEL MAY, JR. suggested the need of attention to the Financial question, and gave notice that the Finance Committee would now pass round to receive the contributions of the audience.
CHARLES C. BURLEIGH said—Our friend from England, the last speaker, has told us of two mistakes made (as he thinks) by the Abolitionists. On the other hand, they have taken two most important precautions for the success of their enterprise. First, though not taking the specific ground of Non-Resistance, they determined, in laboring for the slave, to use only moral means, and decline the use of physical force. Next, they chose to show a practical consistency with their view of the pro-slavery character of the Constitution, and refused to employ political servants to act under the vicious provisions of that Constitution; that is to say, they refused to vote for Government officers. In these two particulars they showed their belief in and their reliance on sound principle.
Rev. EDWIN THURSTON thought Abolitionists did well to accept principles; but Mr. Calthrop was mistaken in thinking that any considerable number of Abolitionists had ever been non-resistants.
God had raised up witnesses to appeal to slaveholders for their conversion. There had been continual differences and free discussion. We could listen to differences without being disturbed. The work would go on. Abolitionists did not have it all to do, though having a leading responsibility. John A. Andrew, Charles Sumner, Joshua R. Gidding, J. Q. Adams, were helpers. The power of God is in the cause; but we are not yet a repentant people. We have interfered with slavery only as a "military necessity." We need to contribute largely to continue the moral agitation of the question. All men should be free and as brethren. God has made of one blood all nations of men. Garrison's name will live—those who mobbed him will be forgotten. Let us go forward in our work till there shall be no slave left in his chains.

Rev. JEREMIAH CLAPLIN said—We don't ask on the Anti-Slavery platform what a man's religious or political belief is, but whether he is an Abolitionist. Our friends from England mistook in saying that the Abolitionists generally were non-resistants. One of the glories of the Anti-Slavery platform is that it tolerates all manner of opinions. We all think seriously upon all subjects, except Abolition. He himself preferred to consider the moral rather than the political aspects of the subject, and he thought that those aspects were needed by the community still.
MR. MOORE, of Lynn, thought with a previous speaker that the Abolitionists had made a mistake in advocating disunion. No possible benefit could come from disunion. He believed in fidelity to moral principle. He did not believe in isolation. He would go into the world, and combat its evils. If he could not get all he desired, he would get all he could. Abolitionists ought to go to the ballot-box. This Government, bad as it was, was the best hope of the world. We must go forward, and try to roll back the dark wave of slavery.
HENRY C. WRIGHT said—I have held one, and only one position on the subject of slavery, namely, that it is a self-evident wrong, and the right of all men to liberty is a self-evident right. If the Bible, or the

Constitution, or any document or human institution deny a self-evident truth, they are self-evidently false. Each must judge for himself what is true, and must follow his conviction as a thinking being.

I believe that the negro is the only name given under heaven whereby this nation can be saved. It cannot succeed, it cannot prosper, still less lead other nations to freedom, until it does justice to the negro. This nation tried to carry on this war and suppress the rebellion without the negro. They were failing, sinking, and they tried to the negro, "Save us, or we perish!" The black men of the country magnanimously answered the call, and are now putting their shoulders to the wheel to save us. No more noble example of Christian forgiveness was ever shown.

The negro is working his way to honor and a just consideration in this nation, and he will succeed, and compel the nation to confess its wrong towards him. Before closing, Mr. Wright wished to call the public attention to the fact that the President had placed the noble Gen. Grant in his present position, and was upholding him there. Grant is unwilling that this contest shall be settled until slavery is utterly destroyed; and Lincoln sustains and maintains him.

EDMUND QUINCY, Esq., would point out the error of two speakers who had assumed that the abolitionists had refused to vote in order to promote the abolition of slavery. This was not their reason. They refused the ballot to preserve their personal honor; they would not swear to do that which they would not, and ought not, in person, or by another, perform. They could not accept political influence in violation of conscience. As dissenters in England were affected by test oaths, so the abolitionists had been deterred from political action here. But we are happy to believe that our position has been efficient for good results in political affairs.

Mr. LAWSON said—We all have a right to criticize. He had heard by the side of black soldiers in the field, and could frankly testify that they had not been well treated. The annals of this war will show no courage, fortitude, fidelity, superior to that of the colored troops. Even the Tenth Regiment of colored men, was the black man, and to talk about citizenship for him. Slavery is dead, though it is yet quivering in Kentucky. Let the black men go on as they have done, and they will yet share this nation into giving them their rights, and an equal citizenship. Colored children, even now, are singing the John Brown song and the star-spangled banner in the house of Governor Wise. The Southern freedmen are now owning as well as working the lands at Hilton Head; and they are to be landholders and citizens all over the South. They built a school-house at Hilton Head even before any school-master was ready. All these things are most encouraging for the future.

HENRY C. WRIGHT asked what Mr. Lawson knew of any aid which the President had given to these movements of the colored men.

Mr. LAWSON knew nothing upon that subject. He had had the good fortune to be at the front, and to be occupied with the work there; and he thought that some of the soldiers at the front and some of the President's councilors might advantageously have changed positions. The old hunkers and democrats are getting converted by the war. It is the negro soldiers who will emancipate the slaves.

Mr. LAWSON could testify that there had been much prayer and religious feeling in the Confederate army in Stonewall Jackson's time; now he thought it was exceeded in Gen. Grant's army, and, therefore, he thought, we should be victorious.

Adjourned to half past seven.

THURSDAY EVENING, MR. QUINCY in the Chair. Rev. A. T. FOS, of New Hampshire, said he had been full of hope, both before and since the present rebellion. He thought, with Mr. Garrison, that there was more peace now in this country than ever before. He thought Gen. Grant a better laborer for peace than Secretary Beckwith of the Peace Society. He had undergone severe family losses in the war, but he was ready to lose life itself, if necessary, in the cause of freedom.

Whatever differences of opinion exist among us in regard to measures, he felt sure we were agreed in principle. He thought also that Mr. Lincoln was disposed to do right. To be sure, Chase, or Fremont, or Butler would do better, but neither of them can be elected. If we must have Mr. Lincoln, let us by all means have the criticisms of Mr. Phillips, and Mr. Foster, and Mrs. Foster, to urge him forward.

Mr. Lincoln, after all, does something. The return of fugitive slaves is practically stopped. The colored soldiers are to have full pay. We are making progress. Great progress has been made in this city. The colored regiments in its streets have shown an immense change. If we are faithful to our trust, this progress will continue until the work of freedom shall be perfected. To insure the true liberty of white men, we must insure the freedom and the rights of the blacks. Thank God for it.

I accept Wendell Phillips's criticism. On the other hand, I accept the favorable view taken by Mr. Garrison of the reflection of Abraham Lincoln. I will rather accept him for four years more than run the risk of McClellan, or any Copperhead of that sort. Let us not hesitate about the danger of debt, in so rich a country as this. Neither will I find fault for the suppression of the *Ku Klux* corps. Let it be suspended as long as the necessity lasts. We will have it back again when we want it. [Foster: If you can get it.] If we can get it? We will have it, whether or no.

When liberty comes, we must all say—Not unto us, not unto us, but unto thy name, O Lord, be the glory! Abraham Lincoln will deserve no praise for it. The Republican party will deserve no praise. All of us have come short of our duty.

Mrs. ABY KELLEY FOSTER would remind those who attended our Conventions in former years, that our discussions are very much like those which prevailed then. A choice of candidates! Twenty-four years ago to-day, in Faneuil Hall, the question of how we shall vote was under consideration—many of the Abolitionists were inclined to be Whigs. We took the ground at that Convention, that whoever voted for a Governor, an agent, or a member of Congress, was endorsing the slave. We took the ground that we would do right ourselves, let the consequences be what they may. Duty is ours—events are God's. "Do right, though the heavens fall." Our business is to preach absolute righteousness; that there is no safety except in absolute justice. Accept no small evils which are sure to prove to be large ones. Are we to give up our old position? Then we become not an Anti-Slavery Society, but a political party. We had settled this question of policy.

Mr. PHILLIPS followed with a strong speech in opposition to the administration, which we do not attempt even to sketch, for the reason that the substance of it was repeated the next evening at Tremont Temple, and that speech will be given in full hereafter.

S. S. FOSTER did not quite agree with Mr. Phillips. He regarded the Constitution now, even with the pro-slavery interpretation, as giving full control over slavery; therefore Fremont could be voted for. Fremont, as President, would entirely abolish slavery. Mr. Foss replied to Mrs. Foster, that he also wished to be a fanatic as long as he lived. He was not ignorant of the old debates of the Anti-Slavery Society, but there had been a great change within twenty-four years. [Mr. FOSTER: Of principle?] No; principles had not changed, but liberty was in danger, and he believed the election of Lincoln was the better way to insure its preservation.

Mr. May gave a financial notice, and then the President announced—

H. C. WRIGHT. Mr. Lincoln, like Mr. Phillips, believes the Constitution pro-slavery. He has sworn to execute it as he believes it. Why should he not execute it?

Mr. Phillips objects to Abraham Lincoln. Why? Now he presents another candidate, as he has a right to do. Now I want Wendell Phillips to show us that his candidate has better anti-slavery antecedents than Abraham Lincoln.

What are the anti-slavery antecedents of Fremont? What has he done since the rebellion broke out, except issuing that proclamation?

The Convention then adjourned, to meet in the Tremont Temple, to-morrow, at 10 A. M.

FRIDAY MORNING.

The President, Mr. QUINCY, in the Chair. The Resolutions offered at previous sessions were read by the Secretary.

Mr. MAY read the following Resolutions by request of Mrs. DALL; also reading, in connection, a statement of an eminent loyalist of Missouri, rehearsing the circumstances of the present status of the black man there; he moved the reference of the Resolutions to the Business Committee, which was voted—

Resolved, That with deep thankfulness to God, and in grateful recognition of all human agencies, we congratulate the State of Missouri on being the first, not merely of the loyal States, but of the world's nations, voluntarily to emancipate her own slaves, without compensation.

Resolved, That while we gratefully recognize the Emancipation Ordinance of Missouri the substantial triumph of an anti-slavery principle, we do it only in the confident hope that, by a speedy convention of her people, she will wipe the last mark of the stain from her statute-book.

Mr. TOWNIE wished to make a general statement in regard to the people called "Spiritualists," that, as a body, they are neither pro-slavery nor anti-slavery. He wished also to explain, that the manifestly pro-slavery character of the Irishmen in this country is not to be attributed to their nationality, but to the ill-trainings they have received from the Democratic leaders of this country.

Rev. Mr. BILLINGS, formerly Lieut.-Colonel of the first South Carolina Regiment of colored men, was next introduced to the Convention.

No subject, he thought, could be fitter for our consideration than the character of the men now in trial for election to the next Presidency. There are two kinds of greatness, that of position merely, and that of character. The person in question, a man high in position, has told us—"I do not make events; events make me." It seems to me that this is an unworthy speech for a man holding so much power in his hands, and more able than any man in the nation to shape events at his pleasure.

We have been told of Mr. Lincoln's prayers, as one of the evidences of his fitness for his function. But, judging from his administration, he seems to have prayed more to the Border States than to the Creator. [Applause and hisses.] Is Mr. Lincoln great by position, or by character? Birds of a feather flock together. Who are Mr. Lincoln's officers and associates?

Mr. BILLINGS commented upon some persons who had received office from the President, in spite of the disqualifications of gross intemperance and dishonesty in their characters.

Now, as to the pay of colored soldiers. I recruited my men under the promise of the Secretary of War that they should have the regular pay of soldiers. For the first seven months, they did have the regular pay, both privates and non-commissioned officers; afterwards the pay was cut down, and the non-commissioned officers were paid only as privates.

Mr. GARRISON presented the petition, now in course of circulation by the Women's National League, praying Congress to immediately abolish slavery throughout the country, and that the Constitution may be amended so as forever to prohibit slavery in every part of the country.

Mr. J. C. CLARK asked and received permission to read to the Convention some brief remarks of Mrs. Spence (before a Spiritualist Convention) in favor of slavery.

Mr. BRADLEY, (colored), of Boston, declared himself in favor of Old Uncle Abe, (applause), but yet made certain particular exceptions against him, namely—his refusal of the suffrage to the colored men of Louisiana—his exception of certain parts of the South from the Emancipation Proclamation—his drafting colored men as soldiers, when he would not allow them to be citizens—and his refusal to allow colored officers to colored soldiers.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER moved to take up the resolutions offered yesterday, and to take vote upon them at this session.

Mr. MAY hoped the Convention would not bind itself to action at any particular session.

Mr. GARRISON stated that the custom had been to delay action till the close of the meeting.

Mr. FOSTER replied, that thus many of those who had heard the debates were not present at the final vote. It was on that very account that he moved for action immediately following the debate.

Mr. FOSTER spoke briefly in favor of the motion. The vote being taken, was declared by the President to be in the negative.

The vote being doubted, was repeated, with the same result.

Mr. FOSTER moved that the vote on these resolutions be taken at 4 o'clock this afternoon.

Decided in the affirmative.

By request, the resolutions offered by Mr. PHILLIPS were then read by the Secretary.

Mr. MAY gave notice of the usual action of the Financial Committee at this time, requesting donations and pledges to the cause for the coming year. He also read a letter from a lady, of Plainfield, Conn., enclosing twenty dollars to the Convention.

PARKER PILLSBURY then addressed the audience. Various Anti-Slavery associations, including the Church Anti-Slavery Society and the Emancipation League, have discovered that the moral work of Abolition yet remains to be done. Holding, myself, this idea, and seeing that the Government and the political parties are trusting mainly to operations in the field, I hold it to be our work to push forward the moral revolution in regard to slavery.

The church is right in saying that without repentance there is no remission of sins. The government does not depend upon justice, nor attempt to execute it. The nation is not penitent, nor disposed to reform. We are yet dead in trespasses and sins.

In regard to the President, I think he has well redeemed the promise he made in his inaugural address. He then said he had no objection to the pro-slavery guarantees of the Constitution being made permanent. This has been the key to his subsequent course.

He told a delegation of colored men who waited upon him—"You and we are of a different race; and emancipation will not bring you to equality with us." This also is consistent with his conduct and policy ever since.

Mr. GARRISON said—Why bring up this interview between the colored people and the President now? My friend Mr. Pillsbury has, of late, nothing but accusation and condemnation for the President. I criticize some acts of Mr. Lincoln, and approve others. We must candidly consider both. We must be just, and state things fairly on both sides. (Great applause.) As to the matter of Colonization, Mr. Pillsbury omits to state that the colonization at Avache, Hayti, having failed, Mr. Lincoln had sent and brought all the colonists back to this country.

GEORGE THOMPSON next took the floor. His heart, he said, was full, but his health was inadequate to the full expression of his feelings.

He must commence with the most earnest congratulations on the progress which our cause has made. He had been amused to hear the injustice which had been done by some in speaking of the character and

conduct of President Lincoln. (Immense applause.) His sense of justice had been violated by such treatment of the chief magistrate of America. (Thunders of applause.)—Who has occasioned the progress which our cause has made? Have the copperheads, have the rebels done it? We in England watched your progress with the utmost interest. We knew at first nothing of Mr. Lincoln. I sought information respecting his history, his views and principles. I judged him with the eyes of an abolitionist, and by my own unbiased sense of right and justice. (Mr. Thompson here read a passage from one of Mr. Lincoln's speeches in his debate with Stephen A. Douglas, which he said he would rather have been the author of than of all the eloquence of Burke.) Thank God that you have for your President the man who has uttered such words! (Great applause.) Now look at your country, and see a total change. My wonder is, how so much could have been brought about.

Far be it from me to detract from the value of criticism; but its value will be proportioned to its justice. Your government was a pro-slavery, it is now an anti-slavery government.

(Mr. THOMPSON's time being finished, it was moved and unanimously voted that he be requested to proceed.)

You were formerly trying to make freedom national, and slavery sectional. Now freedom is national. Now representatives from negro republics are sent to Washington, and honorably received there. The recognition of Hayti and Liberia were not acts of military necessity. Much complaint has been made of the President's use of these words, but they have served an important use in the phase of your nation's ideas.

Mr. THOMPSON replied to complaints made against the President in regard to negro citizenship, and other matters, and claimed that no cause for despondency exists in regard to the work of national renovation.

There are now nearly ten months remaining of Mr. Lincoln's incumbency in office. If you should, instead of debating about the next election, turn your unanimous efforts towards the establishment and confirmation of a public sentiment so strongly anti-slavery as to permit his further advance in that direction, your present troubles might be settled before the time of election arrives.

A. M. POWELL, of New York, addressed the Convention in an argument to show that the colored population of the country had been ignored at first, and subordinated afterwards, to the greatest extent possible; and that the Administration's intention, judging it by its acts, was to leave this portion of the people with the fewest possible rights and immunities, while getting from them the greatest possible service.

Adjourned to quarter before 3.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON.

The President in the Chair.

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN was the first speaker. He spoke of the importance of reviewing our ground, ascertaining our exact position, and assuring ourselves of the nature and amount of the work yet before us.

Slavery has received a severe, it may be a fatal blow. Yet the colored man has everything yet to fear. Even when Grant's army shall be successful, we, the colored people, will be yet in danger. The advantages that we have so far received have come as much through Jeff. Davis as through President Lincoln. This war was begun with the purpose of restoring the nation as it was, and leaving the black man where he was. Now the time has come when you must recognize the black man as on the same footing with the white man. If not, the mission of the war is not ended, and we must have yet more disasters to scourge us into the right way.

WILLIAM A. DAVIS, (formerly coachman of Jefferson Davis),

The prayers of Mr. Lincoln have been referred to repeatedly. I judge a man not so much by his praying as by what he does after he prays. I believe that no where in the world is there so much praying as in the South, nor so much devilry.

I was born a slave. And I lived one until after Gen. Butler went to New Orleans. Then I thought the time had come for me to be free, and I began to pray, and also to act. And I made my escape. In the South, all the slaveholders hated Abraham Lincoln, and cursed and abused him. That made us think Mr. Lincoln was on our side, and I shall now take a bright view of his character.

The Anti-Slavery work is not yet done. When the black man is forced into the army with inferior pay, and the refusal of the rights of a citizen, it is plain that the work necessary for that people is not yet finished.

Some of the speakers here have painted Mr. Lincoln in very black colors. I shall now notice some of the good things he has done. It has been said that more fugitives have been returned to slavery under Mr. Lincoln than under any other President. But it is fair to observe also that more slaves have been emancipated under him than under any other President.

The difficult time for this country will be when the rebels have been whipped, and the work of reconstruction begins. Then we must take care that slavery is buried so deep as not to rise again even in the morning of the resurrection.

The time having arrived when the question was appointed to be taken upon Mr. Pillsbury's resolutions, they were again read by the Secretary.

Mr. GARRISON read two resolutions, and moved that they be substituted for those offered by Mr. Pillsbury:

Resolved, That the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause, since the rebellion broke out, in view of the fearfully divided state of public sentiment and feeling towards the negro race throughout the North, almost verging upon bloody civil war at our own doors, has been truly wonderful, and far beyond our most sanguine expectations; that among the signal evidences of this progress are the treaty with Great Britain for the utter suppression of the foreign slave trade—the recognition of the citizenship of all native-born colored inhabitants—the enrolment of tens of thousands of free colored and governmentally emancipated slaves as soldiers under the flag, recognized by the decision of Attorney General Bates as entitled to equal consideration with white soldiers—the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia—and, above all, the proclamation of President Lincoln, emancipating forever more than three millions of the slave population; and, taking encouragement from the past, we would respectfully urge the President to use his utmost constitutional power to secure equal rights for all under the national flag, without regard to complexion, distinctions, and to promptly and effectually discontinue all acts on the part of his subordinates violative of those rights.

Resolved, That with equal earnestness we call upon Congress, before its adjournment, to give heed to the numerous petitions of the people to pass a law abolishing slavery universally in the land, and to amend the Constitution of the United States so as to make slaveholding in any State an illegal act.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER said—The resolution offered by Mr. Garrison as a substitute states something positively false. Our government has not recognized the citizenship of the negro. Mr. GARRISON pointed out the ground and reasons for the statement.

Mr. FOSTER wished to ask whether Mr. Lincoln, who urged the rebels to lay down their arms that they might keep their slaves, would not have kept his part of the bargain if they had accepted it.

A very animated and exciting debate followed, of which the Secretaries were unable to furnish any report. Those who took part in it were CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, SAMUEL MAY, JR., PARKER PILLSBURY, Rev. Mr. DAVIS of Haverhill, and others.

Mr. GARRISON accepted an amendment to his Resolution. Adjourned to half past 4 o'clock.

Evening. The Temple was crowded to overflowing in the evening, and speeches were made by PARKER PILLSBURY, WENDELL PHILLIPS, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, GEORGE THOMPSON, and CHARLES C. BURLEIGH—the first two, with Mr. Burleigh, taking ground against the President and the Administration, the other speakers defending them. The debate was exceedingly interesting and animated, and kept the audience until a late hour. The friends and opponents of the Administration appeared to be about equally divided, and the rivalry between them, in the expression of approbation and disapprobation, caused, at times, considerable tumult.

At the conclusion of the speeches, the question was taken on the substitution of the resolutions offered by Mr. Garrison for those of Mr. Pillsbury, and the Convention resolved to substitute them. Mr. Pillsbury's resolutions were then adopted, and (an amendment having been made to them) the resolutions offered by Mr. GARRISON were also adopted.

Mr. POWELL then offered the following resolutions, which were adopted—

Whereas, We believe slavery to have been the prolific source of our past national troubles, to be the primary cause of the present iniquitous rebellion, and, as protected in the fundamental law of the nation, to be threatening to the future of the Republic; therefore,

Resolved, That we respectfully but earnestly request of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by special message, to recommend, and of the House of Representatives to adopt, an article as an amendment of the Constitution of the United States which, when ratified by three-fourths of the Legislatures of the loyal States, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely: That neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, shall exist within the United States, any place subject to their jurisdiction; and that Congress shall have full power to enforce the article by appropriate legislation.

Resolved, That the President of this Convention be instructed to transmit copies of the foregoing resolution to the President of the United States, and to the House of Representatives, through the Hon. Thomas D. Elliot, of Massachusetts, Chairman of the Committee on Slavery.

The Convention then, at 11 1/4 o'clock, adjourned. [A full report of the proceedings of the last evening will be printed next week.]

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 3, 1864.

The Editor of the Liberator is absent this week, attending the Yearly Meeting of the Progressive Friends at Longwood, Pa.

THE TWO CONVENTIONS.

The New England Anti-Slavery Convention, whose proceedings, last week, are reported, in large part, in this paper, was attended by crowded audiences throughout its two days' sessions, and was marked, from beginning to end, by earnestness and vigor of debate. This debate turned very largely, as will be seen, upon the desirableness or undesirableness of a reelection of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency.

In regard to the expediency of this measure a decided diversity of opinion was manifested among the oldest and firmest friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and a similar diversity appeared among the audience, dividing them not very unequally between preference for Mr. Lincoln, on one hand, and for some representative of more radical ideas and measures on the other. The speeches of the debaters were followed with the deepest interest, and vigorous applause was frequently given to the speakers on each side. The same divided opinion was manifest in the final vote upon the resolutions, so that, though a large number voted, (staying until 11 P. M., for that purpose,) the decisive majority was not great. For specimens of intense and fervid eloquence this meeting has hardly been exceeded.

The Radical Political Convention which met this week at Cleveland, Ohio, in pursuance of a Call issued by George Brown of Missouri and others, has finished its sessions and adjourned.

An attempt to nominate Grant for the next presidency met with no encouragement. The nomination of Fremont was enthusiastic and unanimous. Among the delegates to the Convention from New England were Parker Pillsbury and Stephen S. Foster. A letter sent by Wendell Phillips to the Convention, and also the resolutions passed by it, will be found in other columns.

It will be noticed, in the resolutions adopted by the Cleveland Convention, that no mention is made of the freedmen, or of the colored soldiers of the Republic, of their claim to protection, or of the injustice the latter are suffering by the refusal to pay them as other troops are paid; nor of the question of retaliation for the barbarities of Fort Pillow and elsewhere. Nor is the claim of the freed slaves to a share in the confiscated lands of the South, anywhere recognized—"soldiers and settlers" being the only parties named as entitled to these lands, leaving it uncertain who are meant by "settlers." According to the report in the *Journal*, Stephen S. Foster and others opposed the fifth resolution, which declares that "the rebellion has destroyed slavery." This, Mr. Foster pronounced to be "a lie," and said its adoption would take away their principal argument against Mr. Lincoln's administration. It was, however, adopted. Nor do we find a word of the necessity of recognizing the colored man as a citizen, or giving him the right to vote. We ask, with little surprise and mingling of mind, if this lofty moral and anti-slavery platform, which the friends of General Fremont were to give us! But we await a fuller report of the Convention's proceedings.

THE ABOLITIONISTS—THE FREEDMEN.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

The Abolition movement had two objects; the immediate, unconditional emancipation of the slave, and the elevation and enfranchisement of the colored race; and I presume that nobody with the love of justice and right in the heart, and the idea fully in the head, that the negro is a man, and not merely a "nigger," ever read the Declaration of Sentiments at Philadelphia, but became an Abolitionist. Until both these things are accomplished, emancipation and enfranchisement, the work of the Abolitionists is not accomplished. The great motive power of the Abolitionists was the conscience; justice and right demand it. The President, in his letter to Mr. Hodges, says that he, too, has a conscience, that he thinks slavery wrong, (the first intimation of his, I think, that I have seen of it,) but he is careful to assure him that he had done no official act in mere deference to this abstract judgment. The President also tells the New Orleans delegates that he has nothing to do with moral considerations; it must be a necessity of war. He lacks power. But if B. F. Butler, instead of N. P. Banks, had been in command, and had summoned all, without distinction, instead of the *white*, merely, does anybody doubt that his power would have been ample to have countermanded the order or proclamation, or to have modified it?

But let us look at his power in another direction. The President is very sensitive as to his oath of office to support the Constitution. Now, whatever other defects there may be in that instrument, there is nothing that gives any countenance whatever to this "nigger" idea, which led the President to the recommendation of expatriation. Did not his private

abstract idea prevail and influence him here? Was it not the military necessity of using the negroes at home, as soldiers at present, alone, that prevented his being carried into execution? Secretary Blair, who was said to represent the President, on the 17th of June last year, at Concord N. H., assured the Congress that it would be done when these circumstances ceased to exist. But the President admits that he cannot control circumstances, but that they control him. The Constitution, (Art. 4, Sec. 4,) guarantees to every State a republican form of government.

Now, to learn what a republican form of government is, we will go to the revolution. The Declaration says, all men are created equal; that is, equal in rights, or equal before the law. It says also, that all just powers of the government are derived from the will of the governed. The principle contended for was that taxation and representation should go together. Now, negroes are governed, and they are taxed, and republicanism requires that they should have the right of suffrage.

Next the Constitution itself: the preamble says, "We the people;" not we the white people, nor we the black people; it does not say we the Protestants, nor we the Catholics, but we the people. The Constitution is entirely clear of any caste or distinction of color, race, or religion.

Now I maintain that when the President recommends expatriation of any portion of the "people," or by his amnesty proclamation prevents any portion of the loyal people, on account of their race or color, joining in the formation of a republican State government, he is acting from his own abstract feeling. (I dare not say judgment,) and violates the Constitution in its letter and spirit. I go further; I maintain that he has no more right to let the government General Banks is getting up in Louisiana exist there, than to let Maximilian set up his throne there, because it is not a republican form of government, and is therefore not constitutional. Neither is it a necessity of war. If precedent there and in other States be argued, even on the ground of Judge Taney, that does not change either facts or principles. Slavery and colonization and many other abominations have their precedents, but it makes them neither right nor constitutional.

Slavery itself is by no means at an end, but by the stubbornness of the rebels and by an overruling Providence we may have reasonable hope that it may be, after a while. But the great work of the Abolitionists now is to see that the freedmen are something more than mere serfs. Maryland will probably emancipate, but there is no probability that she will give the negro the right of suffrage.

As some people on the "anxious seat" wish to do just enough to escape from hell and get to heaven, so the government and the people mean to do just so much against slavery and for the slave as will save the Union, and we are compelled to drift onward. But, in spite of all the wrong and all the stubbornness of the U. S. House of Representatives, there is much that is cheering in what the Woman's organization is doing for the freedmen; even the Nassau Street Tract Society is in the current. B. CHASE. Auburn, N. H.

RETALIATION.

The most fiendish chapter of ancient brutality pales before the official intelligence of the Fort Pillow tragedy. It is the choicest legacy of Southern chivalry, which the future historian in shame will record. The emblazoned characters which will reveal to the world the magnitude of their hellish plot, will also bequest to them that just retribution which their acts so justly deserve. There are no mitigating circumstances which lessen Southern guilt. Their course was not prompted by the excitement of the battle-field, neither was it planned for gaining by strategy military advantage. It was simply the base conceptions made to a depraved heart, which yielded the superior claim of honor to the ignoble suggestions urged by the lowest considerations of a murderous heart. This act gives the strongest evidence of their malicious policy, which they have so persistently followed, since our constitutional flag was wrenched by treacherous hands from the stony walls of Sumter. Their design of infamy may be dyed in loyal blood, but even this cannot redeem it from its appointed work of treason—would the savage gleam new experience. The tomahawk and scalping-knife were never dedicated to such unholy work. The war-hoop is usurped by the damnable curses breathed by the agents of hell. The world, one vast arena of bloodshed and death, in its journey through countless ages fails to find its parallel; and it is the plain duty of the historian of the 16th century, to relate the story of Southern brutality. Treason has reared its colossal temple in which demons may offer the sacrifice of their unprofitable lives, but loyalty will wreck the labor of fiends, and rear a monument upon the smoldering ruins of despotism, which shall bear the simple inscription—"All men are born free and equal." Treason will yield the sceptre of human bondage, and our hands will lay the corner-stone of a republic, built upon justice, equality, and the rights of all.

Pause, and meditate upon the ignominious victory and barbarity of Fort Pillow! What infamous torture! Innocent blood crimsoned the murderer's hand consigned to the errand of death. Draw those iron bolts from bleeding hands, and let the world gaze upon the colored shafts of agony and death.

Shall we pursue a retaliative measure? The voice of the nation makes but a single appeal—not one of mercy, but urges the demands of justice. What code of civilized warfare would justify such national brutality? It has honor no claims of retribution! The patriot willingly sacrifices his life for his country's good and honor, but what hero can feel secure against a death which adds no glory to the cause which a devoted life sustained. He who dies upon a battle-field in just cause fills an honorable grave, and no chieftain's marble can relate the sacrifice which he made; but the moment his life is sacrificed for the purpose of gratifying the lowest passions of a depraved heart, that moment the cause which demanded his blood has a right to retaliate upon such grounds as justice may entreat. Let no loyal heart advocate a retaliative course prompted by revenge, but let such a measure be adopted by the proper authorities as will guarantee the brave defenders of liberty that, if they meet death, it shall be in honorable conflict, and that their bodies shall not be the chopping blocks of an infuriated and reckless mob. Let the Government endorse this guarantee, and our army will be inspired with new life and hope; and God alone shall crown the result with speedy victory. Then shall the "battle-cry of freedom" import a holier melody, and we shall advance one step nearer justice, which urges her holiest claims in behalf of a race that is slowly advancing to take its place among the civilized nations of the world.

Blackstone, May, 1864. H. K. M.

ANTI-SLAVERY IN A SPIRITUAL CONVENTION.

Boston, May 31, 1864.

EDITOR LIBERATOR:—

SIR—I was requested to furnish you with copies of resolutions adopted by the Spiritual Convention at their late six days' session in this city, especially the Anti-Slavery resolves, which were adopted with a tremendous yea, after an animated discussion, with but three nays—one of whom was Rev. Robert Thayer. One gentleman who sympathized with the resolutions voted against them on the ground of policy;—he thought the Convention ought not to pass any political resolutions. The third "Nay" I know nothing about.

Respectfully yours, D. B. WILSON, Secretary of Convention.

Poetry.

ARABEL'S CHOICE.

BY AUGUSTA COOPER KIMBALL.

She sat at the feet of her mother—
 And with a dreamy air,
 And her delicate hand played listlessly
 With a lock of her glossy hair.

Her cheeks' sweet pink was slumbering
 Under a veil of snow;
 But up through the wonderful whiteness
 Came suddenly out a rose.

And a burning ray shot into
 The depths of either eye,
 As a sunbeam, veiled with cloud,
 Leaps at last into open sky.

And her dusky red mouth trembled—
 Till the doubled came to see
 What honey thoughts, in the central cell
 Of her spirit, there could be.

And the beautiful, still distance,
 The mother's glance had caught;
 "Arabel, daughter, give me
 The words of your present thought!"

"But the thought has mirrored itself,
 And your voice I hardly need;
 For I know the interpretations—
 They are easy signs to read."

"In the restless tide of the cheek,
 In the glowing eyes above,
 In the red lips' nervous tremble,
 I can trace the work of Love."

"Far back as I can remember,
 The gods betrayed his will
 In the self-same way; and red and white
 Are Cupid's colors still."

"But an anxious thought creeps blindly
 In my heart, and cannot rest;
 For the soul of a mother loves to know
 Who her daughter loves the best."

"Is it he with the hurried footsteps,
 Who at twilight comes to call,
 And drops his high imperiousness,
 Like a cloak, in the outer hall?"

"The glossy glaze of his manhood's prime
 Waves darkly down his breast;
 And he kisses your hand in a reverent way,
 More tender than all the rest."

"With a knowledge judicial, wide, profound,
 He sits in a judge's chair;
 And the world has ever a garment of praise
 For such wise men to wear."

"Or perhaps 'tis the merchant, who sent a gift
 On your birthday—a pearl-ore ring;
 And he takes back the cost every Saturday eve,
 In the halloo you play and sing."

"And his tongue, like a word-thread shuttle,
 Weaves nothing but ruses to please;
 And he looks in your face till your fingers miss,
 And tremble along the keys."

"His wares, and his heaped-up merchandise,
 Shut out the light of the sun;
 He can buy the smile of the people—
 Is Love's smile he has won?"

"It may be the man just over the way
 You have chosen—the millionaire;
 When you think of his gold you can easily forget
 The silver that is in his hair."

"What is it that draws and knits your brow,
 Whenever you hear the creak
 Of his shining boots in the passage?
 What is it that fires your cheek?"

Then Arabel cheer'd her forehead
 From the faintest shade of a frown;
 On a crimson rose in the carpet
 The light of her eyes fell down.

And the smile sweetened off her lips,
 And the spoke with a timid voice:
 "My mother will wonder—condemn, I know—
 And never approve my choice."

"The royal one that my soul enthrones
 A king, by Love's own crown,
 No title of honor has stretched his name,
 He wears no ermine gown."

"The badge of his promising manhood
 Is neither on lip nor chin;
 But it flashes out at his glorious eyes
 From his sacred place within."

"He has no wealth heaped up in the square,
 Or waiting at shop or strand;
 The coin in his slender purse is earned
 By a hard and sun-burnt hand."

"With that man's purse, just over the way,
 His own is a mean choice;
 But, counting his virtues, in lieu of gold,
 He, too, is a millionaire."

"Had he fingered in these still valleys,
 He would not have given a kiss,
 Or ever ventured a word of love
 From last year's Spring till this."

"But walking, a year ago to-day,
 In the country, under the shade,
 Where the locust trees as sentinels stood
 Along the cool arcade,

I heard the hoofs of his goodly steed
 Come galloping down the lane,
 And suddenly pause beside me,
 As the rider drew the rein.

And he leaped to the ground, and raised his cap
 From his brow, and his white lips broke
 Apart with a word of tenderness
 He never before had spoke:

"Sweet, I am going 'Tyranny's cloud
 Is darkening Liberty's sun;
 And only by arms as stout as mine
 Is Freedom's victory won."

"Your country is perilled; I could face
 The enemy's gun and spear
 Better than your purse looks, beloved,
 And the shame of idling here."

"For you there are hands brimful of gold,
 And hearts of affection too;
 But my hand is not worthy enough
 To touch your dainty brow."

"Yet 'tis just the hand, with its roughened palm,
 The bond of the hand to break;
 And I know it is strong to battle for Right,
 Through God and your sweet sake."

"New England reared, it is Liberty's cause
 I hold all claims above;
 Humanity's weak ranks upmost,
 And duty is more than love."

"I looked in his eyes, and their luminous depths
 The fire of the heart caught;
 And I looked till I saw that his soul was clear
 From the trace of a selfish thought."

"My mother! I shook with reverence
 In the light of that eye and brow;
 For the soul that I thought I loved before,
 I knew that I worshipped now."

"Then his white lips stole the purple of mine,
 In a long and clinging kiss;
 And mine have moved with a sweeter smile,
 From that day's hour till this."

"Then he sprang to his steed, and I heard the sound
 Of its galloping hoofs again,
 And he waved his hand as he passed from sight,
 At the end of the locust lane."

"I stood in a dream, and felt how grand
 The heart of a youth could be,
 Whose love for Humanity over-topped
 His ardent love for me."

"My whole soul's love, my mother,
 Forever is won to the brave,
 Who could purchase a slave-free country,
 Though bought with blood and a grave."

Then Arabel ceased, and her mother laid
 A hand on her daughter's hair;
 And a tide of thought rose up within,
 Till it bubbled over in prayer:

"Heaven give American mothers
 A treasure as great as mine!
 For the soul of a patriot daughter
 I bless thee, Father divine!"

Croydon, N. H.

Selections.

BRIG. GEN. R. P. BUCKLAND.

Last week we laid before our readers a letter from F. W. Bingham, also a statement of S. M. Wheaton, in relation to a charge made in the *Cleveland Leader* by a correspondent, "A. D. O.," that General BUCKLAND, in the administration of affairs as Commandant in the District of Memphis, Tennessee, had delivered up to slavery two colored children. This charge was put out about the 1st of March. At the time we pronounced the statement untrue; because we had been personally acquainted with RALPH P. BUCKLAND since the fall of 1840, doing business, and conversing with him almost daily, and we have ever known him to be an open and determined anti-slavery man, from principle. We were willing to assert that no power in the land could compel him to return to bondage any man, woman or child, that the law of the land, or "order of the President," or of the "War Department," had made free. No! The story was gotten up for the purpose of slandering General BUCKLAND. There are thousands of men in Ohio who have known General BUCKLAND for ten to twenty years, who wanted no evidence from him in the case. Previous character, conduct, many decisions, a life-long reputation "known and read of all," were all they cared to know to pronounce it a calumny of the basest character; with such, the name of General BUCKLAND is untarnished.

Since our last issue, a letter has been received by D. L. JUNE, of this place, from General BUCKLAND, which letter was handed to us last Tuesday evening, by Mr. JUNE, together with the following note:

FREMONT, May 17, 1864.

MR. KEELER—I received the following letter from General BUCKLAND, last evening. It came to me under these circumstances. When the seventy-second O. V. I. left (April 3d) for Memphis, I requested Dr. Rice to accompany me, and to be in common with others, that he should consent to allow his name to come before the Congressional Convention as a candidate for nomination. His letter is in answer to my request. It so completely vindicates the General from the slanderous charges made against him, that I take the liberty of sending it to you entire, for publication.

Respectfully yours, D. L. JUNE.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF MEMPHIS, TENN., MEMPHIS, May 8, 1864.

D. L. JUNE, Esq.—My Old Friend:

Dr. Rice told me you expressed a desire that I should write to you, which I intended to have done before now, but I have been extremely busy. I understand that my name has been talked about some as a candidate before the Congressional Nominating Convention, and, as a consequence, persons opposed to my nomination have used against me a communication published in the *Cleveland Leader*, signed "A. D. O.," accusing me of surrendering into slavery three colored children. That communication was malicious, and contained many falsehoods. My attention was called to it some time ago, but I did not suppose that it had reached you, and I was surprised from the statements of an anonymous newspaper correspondent. My sentiments upon the subject of slavery have been freely expressed for many years, and have undergone no change, except in intensity against the institution. There has been no time, during the last twenty years, that any earthly power could compel or induce me to aid in forcing a fugitive slave back into slavery. I have never done such a thing, and never will. Since I have been in command of the District of Memphis, I have not in any way, officially or otherwise, recognized the relation of master or slave. The only restraint upon the colored people here is exercised by the Government of the United States. No one has been compelled to remain with his or her former master to my knowledge. The colored children referred to had been ordered by General Hurlbut to be left with Dr. Wheaton, as an act of humanity towards the children. In the absence of General Hurlbut, they were forcibly taken away, in violation of General Hurlbut's order, and against the wishes and best interest of the children themselves. They were not held or treated as slaves, but were being educated and kindly treated in every respect. There was a mutual affection between the children and Dr. Wheaton's family. An adopted daughter of Dr. Wheaton, having no children, took great pains in teaching them to read, sing, and in religious exercises. The father had enlisted as a soldier, and the mother was in the contraband camp, the worst place in the wide world for children. Knowing these facts, I ordered the children to be taken to Dr. Wheaton's family. You, my friend, being young, will be beautiful, will teach the mind and move the heart, will fire the imagination so that men shall come to love one another.

Whatever be the point of view which you select, it will be good for those who desire what you desire as to the future of the colored people in America. I am sure that they are not white.

We do not invoke the rights of humanity, nor the blood already shed, to induce you to do for Spain this great service. You have children, lady, and the class of workmen will thank you with its thousands of hearts, for the doctrine of that book which you cherish as a treasure for the education of its children.

From this moment we give you the most hearty thanks, for the hopes which your delicate sentiments permit us to entertain; meantime we wait that the invaluable fruit of your labors may reach our hands. Your admirers and most affectionate servants, Mariano Vique, Paul Armengol, Jose Maria Torres, Joaquin Maria Capdevila, Jaime Ferrer, Federico Borja, Joaquin Font Vila, Fernando Mavigo, and many hundreds more, whose signatures we do not repeat.

REPLY OF CAROLINA CORONADO.

"To Don Mariano Vique, Don Paul Armengol and others."

MY FRIENDS: It is so long since I abandoned my literary taste to devote myself to the care of my children, and live forgotten in the world, that your letter has surprised me.

It is true that when the virtuous Lincoln came into power, having a presentiment of the storm which was about to burst over the country, he called to me, and I went to the future of that noble race of Washington, I uttered a cry in favor of the slaves. But I supposed nobody had heard it; and indeed it would have been lost in space if there had not been a people always careful for the misfortunes of other peoples, which gathers up all the echoes, and responds to the name of Christianity?

Catalonia, which never sleeps, which listens always and always feels, has carried this time its perception to an extreme in listening also to my voice. But how, from the little I have said, would I could not write in an ode, have you divined that I could not write a book upon slavery and emancipation?

You, men, who have heard the political passions are now struggling as no other passion has ever struggled—will you be satisfied with what a woman can say? Can a woman find words to speak of that iniquity, express of all the iniquities, which consents that men should sell other men, without fear of God or respect to the name of Christianity?

If my book were to be read only by women, I should be bold to write; but it must be read by you, and you are the free men of Catalonia, vanguard of ideas in Spain, to whom nothing new could be said, and who would not be satisfied without something new.

A poem is a song, and it may be uttered by a woman or a bird. The book you demand is a work for the historian, for the philosopher, for the statesman; and even with all these qualities, I doubt whether it would suffice to explain the scandal it is for humanity, that still in the land of the free there should be one single slave upon the earth.

For this, our brothers of America, generous men, warriors, unyielding heroes, whose laurels shade the whole line from the Potomac to the Mississippi, fight on till the liberty of the slaves is achieved.

For this, you hear the thunder of that monstrous artillery, whose horrible hail destroys in a single day the fruit which, in many years, many thousands of mothers have given to their country.

For this, a hundred thousand sons, who before lived tranquil in the warmth of the family fires, lie to-day under the cold earth of the fields of Virginia.

For this, Lincoln, the patriarch, the student, the friend of peace, at the same time that he raises to Heaven a paternal hand praying for mercy upon the people, sustains with the other arm the standard of the war.

responsibility he is obliged to bear, awakened the sympathy of all, while the characteristic humor and cheerfulness which support him in his heaviest trials and sorrows, well-recommended that his heart should not sink under the pressing weight of his duties. The hearty responses and plaudits which were given to the successive points in his address show how consonant with his own feelings, opinions, and wishes, are those of our people. When some enthusiastic individual proposed three cheers for the President of the United States, they were given with an energy and zest that had a meaning. They implied confidence in his past integrity, and trust in his future efforts. They implied a wish to be guided by his counsel and governed by his wisdom, during another term of office. They meant to cast no reflection upon his statements, and patriots, but to express satisfaction with him.

"Others, good, perhaps, as he
 Have tried them in the war-time's flame;
 Do we know if they will stand,
 Heart in hand,
 Seeking for the Right, in Heaven's name?"

"Let the Nation ask him, then,
 Once again,
 To hold the rudder in this stormy sea.
 Tell him that each sleeping night,
 Dark to light,
 Lingers in a morning for the Free."

"Let us not forget our rude
 Gratitude!
 But lend our servant the poor crown we may!
 Give him four more years of toil,
 Task and moid,
 Knowing God shall crown him in His day."

—Baltimore American.

SPANISH OPINIONS OF OUR CIVIL WAR.

Below we give a very interesting correspondence between the liberals of Catalonia, in Spain, and the liberals of Madrid, a Spanish lady of great accomplishments and genius. The ode referred to in the correspondence was addressed by Mrs. Perry, or, as she is more commonly called, Carolina Coronado, to Mr. Lincoln on his inauguration, before the war broke out, but full of anticipations of the war. These give to the verses of the Spanish poetess an almost prophetic character, and the subjoined correspondence should be read with a reference to this interesting circumstance.—N. Y. Evening Post.

LETTER OF THE CATALAN LIBERALS.

BARCELONA, October, 1863.

To the Lady Donna Carolina Coronado de Perry.
 "Dear Madam: The profound and affectionate admiration with which you inspire us moves us to address you these lines. It is long since we knew, through your beautiful poetry, your delicate sense, and your great critical writings, the elevation of your ideas. Report has brought to our ears the fame of your private virtues, and your ode to the immortal Lincoln has shown us that that tender heart of the poetess and the mother, always ready to respond to the softest emotions, is capable also of responding to the ideas of liberty, of country, and of fraternity."

We who now address you are the same who not long since sent a felicitation to President Lincoln, covered with hundreds of signatures for his decree of emancipation of the slaves, done on the 1st of January of this year. But as there are also among ourselves who raise their arms to covetousness, we were very grateful to us that from the boom of our own society, there should arise a voice pure, chaste, and sensitive and thrilling, which, operating by its divine influence in our families, should draw all sympathies towards the unfortunate slaves.

"You are the person to whom this prodigy, what we feel and love, and know how to inspire others with noble affections. You can yet show, by means not used till now, what a worthy spouse you are of that free citizen; what a worthy daughter of this Spain, whose historic glories all belong to liberty."

A book, lady! a book, beloved friend! a book which will show us the facts and tendencies of the present war in the United States of America.

Whilst so many belie the high-endowments of talent, prostituting it to any unworthy thing, if so be it cloths in tinsel, exalts you the name of our country in your pages, which, being yours, will be beautiful, will teach the mind and move the heart, will fire the imagination so that men shall come to love one another.

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For this, a hundred thousand sons, who before lived tranquil in the warmth of the family fires, lie to-day under the cold earth of the fields of Virginia.

tween the two great armies are the living letters which are now to be printed, and which will leave an eternal mark in that great press of the republic.

Fix your eyes on the signs which the telegraph continually brings us; count the battles and learn to know the armies. See how to the formidable hosts of the North gather from all the world soldiers of different races, of different kinds, and of distant climes—Spaniards, Germans, French, Britons, Hungarians—subjects and princes—all to battle for the holy cause of emancipation.

In our own beautiful Cadix was born the avenger of Maryland, terror of the armies of Lee, who, in one side battle, gained the renown which, from the sea of America, has borne wave over wave till it reaches the shores of Spain. From Europe went those illustrious princes, sons of a king of France, whose gallant deeds in years so young have touched the hearts of the American marines. From Europe went the valiant Schurz, bright apparition from the mists of Germany, who bears the rattle of bullets, as he heard the clapping of hands when his ardent eloquence roused the people of New York.

Look at New Orleans, yielding to the fleet of the courageous Farragut.

Look at Charleston burning under the fire of skillful Gillmore. See the invincible Grant, whose army, like a huge serpent, winds round the fortress of Vicksburg, and take captive forty thousand slaveholders, breaking the chains of the Mississippi; and there you have the book of emancipation.

As to slavery. Jefferson Davis, when he wrote in his insolent Constitution the right to slavery, wrote its last page;—wrote its epitaph. Slavery was an iniquity, suffered because of the reluctance of the people to provoke bloody wars; but when Davis, like that resplendent angel of evil, rose in arms, to give a crown to that iniquity, he damned it forever.

Already there is no slavery! Already that spot is wiped from the forehead of America, and nothing remains but the bulwark of Richmond, the masters of slaves, fugitives from Chattanooga, take refuge to pass the last winter in which they may swing their whips.

Now soon, very soon, when the sun of spring undresses the ice, and gives passage to the armies of the North, and to the numerous squadrons of the iron turtles, you will see that bulwark fall; and you will see unfolded upon the capital flag of liberty for white and black; and then—if you ask me for a hymn—we will all sing it.

That will be the world's brightest day, and my heart melts to think of the delight of the poor negro when the chains of his bondage are broken, and of the joy of the white man when he is no longer a slave.

No! let there be no books written upon slavery—burn those which exist, so that our children and the children of the negroes may not learn injustice. Let them be ignorant that there has been a race in the land, which gave rise up to such odious crimes, so that the blacks may not hate the whites, and the whites may not be ashamed in the presence of the negro.

For those negroes are no longer slaves; they are brave soldiers who defend their country, following the banner of the Republic, and if their faces darken on the ranks, their bones whiten the fields of battle. Ah, that those fields might not again be covered with flowers to be wet with blood and tears!

Your vows for that beloved land where I had no cradle, but where I shall have my sepulchre, come to mingle with my own, and will go to America, to the land of the free, to the land of the brave.

Do not fear that the North will be victorious. Hear what Seward, the grave diplomatist, announces. Hear the learned Sumner—light of the American Senate. Yes, the North triumphs. Heaven protects its own justice. For the victory of slavery is the ruin of civilization, and the barbarism of the human race.

No! Slavery is doomed. God did not inspire Columbus to make a hemisphere of slaves. But even if in America slavery should triumph, still Europe, which sent a genius upon the sea to raise from their bosom a new world crowned with glory, would go again to sink in the waters to raise its ignominy.

Accept, my friends, the expression of my affection, and the gratitude with which I am yours, &c., &c.

CAROLINA CORONADO.

MADRID, January 1st, 1864.

"Tanner. There is something insupportably depressing in this epithet, which can hardly be given in English. Though the figure of speech, which makes 'a tanning' to signify a very unpleasant process for young humanity, is not a new one, still the prejudice which in Spain makes the occupation of the tanner vile, and taboo his socially, is unknown to us."

Not that the tanning of the public executors, comes that of the butcher and tanner, their brethren. Every other occupation, without exception, is more respectable than these.—TRANSLATOR.

THE RICHMOND WASHINGTON MONUMENT.

The Washington Monument, as the reader who has not known it, is an elegant structure, look in design and artistic finish. It stands in the center of a circular base about twenty-five feet in diameter, and consists of a column about fifteen feet in height, mounted on a polygonal pedestal, or star. On the top of the column is a statue of the father of his country, on horseback. On each projecting angle of the star, a few feet from the column, stands, on a small pedestal, one of the lesser lights of the Revolution. On the circle of the main base, opposite the points of the star, are placed large eagles, standing on blocks of stone.

On the breast of each of the revolutionary heroes surrounding Washington, is a placard quoting freely from his distinguished sayings, and the names of his friends' souls. As a sample, on the breast of Dr. Franklin, quoted from his remarks in that first American Congress, is written, "Independence will cost the Gordian knot at once, and give us freedom."

What would that great man say now, if he could see the monument which he made the advocate of the Slaveholder's Rebellion?

From the beaks of the eagles are suspended placards with flaming mottoes in Latin. It must have been noticed that the rebel leaders are prone to interlarding their speeches and inscribing their banners with quotations from the dead and foreign nations; but the reason of their doing so, is, as you know, perhaps, has ever yet guessed. It is because, to their ignorant and deluded followers, there is something awfully imposing in a dead language, saying or inscription. Should they see or hear the same sentiment in English, they would scarcely notice it, and he would feel that the words were not his, but that they would find some one to interpret it, and then they would mentally repeat the translation until it becomes as familiar to them, and more sacred, in their estimation, than any of the Ten Commandments.

To give all the inscriptions on these placards would be tedious, but one or two of them may prove interesting. On the eagle nearest to the Capitol steps, bearing the ancient saying—"Dulce est decorum et pro patria mori," it is sweet and glorious to die for one's country; or, "another hand, 'pro aris et focis,' or, 'for our altars and our fireplaces.'"

There can be no doubt that the rebel leaders have succeeded by artifice and chicanery such as this in convincing many an unsophisticated youth that it is sweet and glorious to die for the Confederacy, and that they are fighting for their altars and their fireplaces; and many thousands more must be led to the slaughter before the terrible delusion is dispelled from the Southern mind.

Had their desecration of the monument ended here, they might perhaps be forgiven; but not a title of their sacrilege has yet been told. They most outrageously insulted the memory of the immortal Washington. They tried to kill him, rather than in the hand of his statue, a long staff, from the top of which floated, insulating alike the Father of his Country and the pure air of heaven, a dirty rebel flag. The principal instrument of this outrage, thank God! speedily received a merited reward. He had barely secured the flag-staff, when his foot slipped, and he fell headlong to the stone base below, fracturing his skull, and dying in a few moments.

An impulsive Irishman, who had been forced into the militia then drawn up in the square, seeing the man fall, thoughtlessly shouted, "Bejabbers, Washington gave him the shanks—he will have nothing but the stars and stripes." The words had scarcely passed the lips of the unfortunate man when he was snatched by his Captain; and, as he fell and after he had fallen, he was kicked by the cavalry around him—his companions in arms—and afterward dragged by the legs to the rear in a dying condition.

It is almost needless to say that the monument is not a re-creation at Mount Vernon. The great

spirit of the hero embodied there must have felt like resigning its high post in heaven, and taking up the flesh again, to resent the insult offered to its earthly image by making it a standard-bearer for the infernal rebellion.

Demonstrations such as I have described have been common throughout the South ever since the war began, and, trifling as they may appear to the Northern reader, they are not without their effect. They are designed to delude the weak and ignorant, and catch the rabble, by reminding them that Washington was a Southern man and a rebel. Speakers are always at hand to expatiate to the gaping crowd on the emblems before them, and to stuff them with sophistry that they should be proud to be called rebels because Washington was a rebel; that all rebels must be right, because Washington was right; and that the position of the rebel States toward the Federal Government is analogous to that occupied by this country toward Great Britain in '76. To the Southern people such comparisons are not odious.

They never reason or reflect. They take the law and the gospel from their superiors in education and craft, and have done so long that today they are as planets, lesser stars and meteors, who either revolve around their great luminary, Jeff. Davis, or occupy the post in the firmament he assigns them.

There are, to be sure, many exceptions—Union men, who have repudiated the rebellion, and who are now shooting stars; for some of them are content to remain quietly in their places, though their lustre is for the present obscured by the brilliancy of the great rebel bodies around them, while others occasionally shoot off, explode, and disappear forever, like the poor Irishman mentioned a moment or two ago. The Southern people are generally very ignorant, and the veriest slaves of official masters of any people on earth.—*Corr. New York Tribune.*

RETURNING REASON.

In the House of Lords on the 29th ult., in reply to an attack by Lord Derby, Earl Russell defended the course of the Ministry with respect to the rebels, and the conduct of the Ministry. He said:—

"The Messrs. Laird, whatever may be their politics—a point with which I have nothing to do—have no right to go to war with any power in friendly relations with Her Majesty. The power of going to war is the prerogative of the crown, and it is not a privilege of the Messrs. Laird, however respectable they may be as shipbuilders. Yet I have no hesitation in saying that the Messrs. Laird had it in their power to commit this country in hostilities with the United States of America, and that was nothing but the will of the government."

Earl Russell was especially explicit in speaking of the conduct of the Lairds. He said:—

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